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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF CURRENT INTELLIGENCE
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MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director (Intelligence)
SUBJECT: Afro-Asian Conference Developments

The resolution passed by the "Asian Conference to Relax International Tensions" in New Delhi are a good indication of the line the Communists will pursue at Bandung. While these resolutions repeat the usual Communist themes, it is significant that they are worded in a manner calculated to give the appearance of paralleling the views of India and other neutralist countries. This action is a transparent maneuver of the Communists to identify themselves as far as possible with the neutralists in order to win their support as well as to develop a shield against the anti-Communist delegations that will be present at Bandung. In this connection, Viet Minh Foreign Minister Pham Van Dong, who will lead the Viet Minh delegation, has recently visited Nehru and Nu. Communiqués calling for strict application of the Geneva agreement and supporting the "five principles" followed the visits.

The Communists have a further opportunity to cultivate the neutrals in Rangoon. Chou En-lai arrived on 14 April, one day late as a result of problems created by the crash of the Air India plane carrying minor Chinese Communist functionaries to Indonesia. In addition to other top members of his delegation, Chou brought the Indonesian ambassador. Nehru, Nasr and Naim arrived on 15 April and Pham Van Dong was also due to turn up.

Peiping's delegation consists of 21 persons and is of a high caliber. It includes several of Chou's top advisers who were present at Geneva last year. The presence of the minister of foreign trade suggests that Peiping will place more than casual emphasis on economic matters in its contacts with other conferees.

The following notes constitute the latest information on various delegations:

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Syria: Foreign Minister Azm stated that he would visit New Delhi after the conference at Nehru's request and planned to call the latter's attention to the fact that the unresolved Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir is a thorn in the side of the Moslem world. The American embassy in Damascus comments that Azm clearly plans to make the maximum personal political capital out of the Bandung trip.

Libya: Ambassador Tappin reports, "I feel Libyans are leaving with every intention of acting in a manner favorable to our interests and believe they will do so to the best of their ability."

Iraq: In Karachi, Iraqi leader Jamali expressed hope that conference would contribute to aim and purpose of UN. He also said that Iraq was "particularly interested in the question of Palestine and liberation of people of North Africa. Besides we will gladly support any anti-Communist, anti-Colonial and anti-racial measures."

Jordan: Foreign Minister Saleh indicated in Singapore that Palestine problem would be chief concern of Arabs at Bandung.

Saudi Arabia: Foreign Minister Crown Prince Faisal, chief Saudi delegate, categorically stated that he would be staunchly anti-Communist. He was slightly bitter, however, over Turko-Iraqi pact developments.

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Egypt: Minister of National Guidance Salim told reporters in Karachi that Egypt would raise the Palestine question.

Pakistan: The American embassy in Karachi has been encouraged by additions that have been made to the Pakistani delegation. It still does not feel, however, that Pakistan can effectively lead the conglomerate pro-West nations at Bandung.

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Meanwhile, the Pakistani chief of the economics section of the conference secretariat has produced a working paper highly favorable to the West. The American embassy in Djakarta doubts, however, that the paper will escape substantial modification.

In an interesting sidelight, the Pakistani official remarked that he had received the definite impression that the Indians were by no means adverse to becoming economic colonizers themselves. He suggested that the Indians may offer personnel, some capital, trade opportunities, and joint companies between India and less developed countries.

Ethiopia: Ethiopians are fearful of being attacked on the Somali issue and alleged mistreatment of Moslems in Eritrea. They want to develop contacts with pro-West delegations, but regard India as a "big brother." They are considering de facto recognition of Peiping, but continue to regard it as an aggressor and will unalterably oppose its entrance into UN.

Foreign Minister Aklilou has been replaced by Yilma Deressa, the ambassador in Washington. Though Deressa is personally pro-West, the American adviser to the Ethiopian government says that a pro-US line will be harder to hold without Aklilou. However, the Foreign Minister's parting words to delegation were "Do not vote against the Americans."

Turkey: The Turkish delegation is prepared to give strong support to any call for the renunciation of force with regard to a settlement of the Formosa problem.

Ceylon: Ambassador Crowe has again been assured that the Ceylonese are determined to oppose the Chinese Communists at Bandung. The ambassador has also been shown copies of two speeches that Sir John Kotelawala plans to deliver. The first is his opening address which generally urges greater recognition of Africa and Asia and calls for peaceful settlement of disputes. The second deals with coexistence and constitutes a strong attack on the Communists.

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In a speech at a banquet honoring Nasr, Nehru expressed hope that tensions would be reduced at Bandung. He also stated that "those who put faith in the atomic bomb, will perish by the atomic bomb."

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Burma: Ambassador Barrington says that Burmese leaders are fully aware of the danger that Peiping will attempt to exploit neutrals at Bandung and wishes to drive a wedge between independent Asians and the West and will be on guard. He said he would personally work for moderation. The American embassy in Rangoon comments that the presence of Barrington and such other moderate and experienced negotiators as Justice Myint Thein and Minister of Trade Development Raschid is a "hopeful sign."

Cambodia: Ambassador McClintock is heartened by the replacement of Sam Sary by former premier Penn Nouth on the Cambodian delegation. He regards Penn Nouth as the only Cambodian of statesmanlike caliber. Other reports suggest that Prince Sihanouk, who will lead the delegation, will be strongly tempted to take a neutralist position.

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Philippines: Romulo is quoted as saying that non-Communist countries must guard against Communist efforts to turn the conference into "an anti-democratic and pro-Communist political demonstration." Ultrationalists in Manila such as Recto and Laurel, however, are rendering Romulo vulnerable to charges that he does not represent true Filipino sentiment by attacking Magsaysay's stand on Formosa and endorsing Communist China's entry into the UN.

Japan: A Japanese Foreign Ministry official has revealed to the American embassy that the Japanese delegation to the Afro-Asian conference has been authorized to submit a "peace declaration," designed to take the place of the "five principles" of coexistence, if the situation called for it. The declaration would use the language of the United Nations charter.

The basic Japanese position also calls for Japan to "serve as a bridge between East and West," to avoid conference consideration of problems among specific nations or development of an Afro-Asian bloc, and to emphasize a "broad global viewpoint." The ministry official stated, however, that Japan desired always to take the side of the free nations, and was prepared to consult with delegates from Thailand, Turkey, Pakistan and the Philippines.

Political matters at the conference will be handled by Foreign Office adviser Masayuki Tani, an experienced diplomat who, like most of the government representatives, advocates close ties with the US. Some members of the delegation from the Diet may try to take a position at variance with the government, however, as indicated by a Left Socialist announcement that its member of the delegation would propose an Asian economic conference to include Communist China.

Japan looks upon the conference primarily as an opportunity to re-establish top level contacts abroad.

Very little progress has been made toward developing an agenda or rule of procedures. These important matters will apparently be left for the delegates to decide for themselves. This lack of preparedness is an open invitation to controversy.

In this connection, the neutrals appear to be making new efforts to avoid unpleasantness. Nehru and Nu are said to be interested in bypassing any touchy "interstate" topics, such as Kashmir, Pushtoonistan and Israel.

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Meanwhile, the Indonesians have tightened security at Bandung. Security forces have been reinforced, local air force personnel confined to barracks and traffic on all major thoroughfares is being checked. Individuals are also being stopped at intersections near the conference buildings. The American embassy in Djakarta reports that these developments may considerably impede the movement of US personnel.

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